

THE LABOUR ORGANISER

No. 30

APRIL-MAY, 1923

Price 4d.

WOMEN'S DAY—AT LAST!

THE "LABOUR ORGANISER" PROPOSAL ADOPTED IN PART.

It is particularly gratifying to note that the agitation which has been carried on by the "Labour Organiser" for 2½ years in favour of a National Labour Women's Week has borne fruit, to, at any rate, the extent that a special Women's Day is proposed by the Executive of the Labour Party to be set aside either on June 9th or 10th.

It is pointed out that since the General Election there has been a great and gratifying increase in the women's membership of the Party and that the enthusiasm shown in many constituencies is very marked. In order to consolidate and encourage this membership it is proposed that all parties in conjunction with the Women's Sections and Labour Women Advisory Councils should make a special effort to arrange for an indoor or outdoor rally of men and women to be addressed by men and women speakers on subjects which specially concern women and children.

Suggestions are made in favour of outdoor demonstrations accompanied, if possible, with a procession of bands and banners, and in rural County Divisions arrangements are suggested for a series of village meetings previously announced, speakers being conveyed from one place to another, as has been done in the by-elections, by motor. The chain of meetings so proposed should prove very effective, and it is suggested that each village should be informed of the probable time of the arrival of the speakers, that local arrangements should be made accordingly, and Labour colours and badges be put in evidence.

Several subjects are suggested as being particularly applicable for the speeches on Women's Day, among these speeches being the following:—Peace, Unemployed Women, Widows' Pensions, Old Age Pensions, Abolition of Sweating and Extension of Trade Boards, Housing and Rents, Extension of Education, and Promotion of Child Welfare.

We would take this opportunity of making an earnest appeal to the readers of the "Labour Organiser" to join whole-heartedly in the national demonstrations outlined above. This is not a purely women's affair. The whole forces of the Party will be needed to complete the organisation and arrangements necessary, and least of all should a plea of lack of money be entertained. Properly organised, Women's Day should pay for itself, but it will be a poor-spirited Party indeed that will fail to take advantage, on the date named, of the national publicity which the Day will secure, and of the special opportunity for interesting womanhood in the work and proposals of the Labour Party which specially concern them. The date in itself is only second in importance to that of the 15th November last.

*The National Labour Women Week was first suggested in the "Labour Organiser" for November, 1920. A limited number of reprints of the article are obtainable on application.

LUDLOW

The Story of a Puzzle and the Lessons Thereof

By THE EDITOR.

"Their's not to reason why;
Their's but to do and die."

So we did, and died. And in the dying we lit such a fire in Salop as will never be put out. Yet we may well echo; "It was magnificent—it wasn't war."

It is a strange experience to be sent in to take charge of an election contest which one's own report has disapproved. One supposes these things happen in war, but then this wasn't war. There was no time even to engage the enemy at any but a few points, and the 1,420 votes that Labour gained were votes snatched here and there under the heavy fire of the enemy. They were not the fruits of a fought and finished battle. The result of Ludlow was in no sense more than the incomplete returns of an unfinished engagement in which Labour never had time to deploy its forces or cover the territory.

I have said that I disagreed with the policy of contesting the seat, but that requires qualification. One disagrees with a thing, or agrees with it, from a certain view point, and when the vacancy first occurred in this constituency I advised against the contest.

There are several considerations that enter into the question of a contest, and my own reasonings were those that are natural to an officer of the organisation department in whose opinions considerations of strategy, prestige, and a certain ordered disposition of the forces always weigh. Ludlow was not like Mitcham and Whitechapel. It was 150 miles from London, with less than half-a-dozen active spirits, and therefore all organisation, all machinery, and all the implements of political warfare (excuse me if I regard speakers as implements), had to be carted at big expense 150 miles to the scene of the contest. It was the old question of the Eastern or Western front again with the conditions reversed. And I am a machine man, with all an organiser's belief in big battalions, and in the virtue of smashing blows. I couldn't see a chance for this at Ludlow.

Another factor was that the Government had just received three smashing

defeats. The unreasoning public would expect something big and sensational (even the unreasoning section of our own movement would); and the unvarnished truth was that the circumstances were so different, including the issues, that the sensation would probably be all the other way, with the effect of discounting the victories just gained. And so I advised that discretion this time was the better part of valour.

But the propagandist par excellence sees otherwise, and I am the last man to quarrel with the propagandist. He is the most necessary man in the whole movement. There be some who argue that even the most hopeless field will pay for tillage, and that the incidence of a Parliamentary Election is a glorious opportunity for propaganda; that every contest makes its converts, and that therefore every seat must be fought. Quod erat demonstrandum.

Now, of course, I don't agree, and I think that, looked at purely from the point of the propagandist, if I have faithfully expressed his views above, that Ludlow didn't pay him. It might have done, I will admit, at an earlier stage of the vacancy, but the peculiar circumstances of this contest were such that, after all, the propagandist's theory didn't get a fair chance of justification. The election was fought under too great a handicap. There was a period when, owing to the divisions of the enemy, a strong and well-backed Labour candidate might have made history. That moment passed, but while the period lasted no-one was more active than I in seeking a champion. It is not generally known that every Labour man in this division, but one, backed the Liberal last November, even signing his nomination papers, and on this occasion, when at last Mr. Pollard came forward, the Liberal had had three weeks to again consolidate his hold on Labour forces. The hottest places against us were where we should have been strongest. And so I admit the propagandist theory hadn't fair play. There had been a fatal loss of time.

And yet? Now there was a third reason that might have entered into

the question of contesting Ludlow, which I believe never a soul thought of. It proved the reason which would have justified this contest a thousand times over if its lesson is to be learnt. If my propagandist brothers agree with me as to the lesson of Ludlow, I gladly bury the hatchet of controversy as to whether the fight was worth while from an organising or propagandist point of view, for nothing is now gained by that controversy. If the lesson I read is right, perhaps we were both wrong.

The real lesson of Ludlow is the discovery of the stark, staring problem that still confronts us in the countryside, and the undeceiving of the blindness which could lead so many to believe that a Labour Government was yet possible with rural England in its present temper.

I ought perhaps to ask you to read the latter part of this article before you read my next assertion, but with more becoming orthodoxy I ask my readers to believe me that even given much more favourable opportunities at Ludlow, we might not have altered the relative positions of candidates. The point is not greatly worth arguing, because it might destroy the value of the shock which assisted the movement to see the problem.

The General Election presented us with facts which, though noted to my knowledge by some of the keenest heads of the movement, had become generally obscured by the necessity, for Party purposes, of advertising the great increase in our forces at Westminster. Yet the naked truth is that south of a line drawn from the Wash to Liverpool Labour failed and failed badly, and in the whole of rural England suffered a tremendous reverse. Is it generally realised that south of Birmingham there is not a single Labour M.P., save for a few round London, and those in South Wales?

Two years ago the "Labour Organiser" drew attention to the increasing difficulties of organisation in country places. The article on this question followed the depression that had begun to be felt by countryside Labour committees, following upon the disasters that were overtaking the industrial organisation of the farm worker. The problem has become more acute as the time has gone on, and though lots of people appear to be of the opinion that we have merely got to stick up a candidate and see the

walls of Jericho fall down, the real position on the countryside is downright serious, and ere Labour can make its way in numbers in the House of Commons from rural England, something has got to be done.

Ludlow was, of course, an exaggeration of the position in the rest of the country. Even in the broad shires, and the squire and parson-ridden areas of old England it has long ceased to be the fashion to spit at Labour supporters, to pelt speakers with eggs, and to throw dung at the candidate's wife. We didn't like these samples of the agricultural policy of the other side, but we had to suffer them, and not since I was a lad have I seen such "true-blueism," unblushing and unashamed, displayed alike by farmers' lads, country squire and village tradesmen. There was very little real difference between the Liberal and the Tory. Indeed, they outbid each other in their advocacy of protection and in damning the Socialists. But it wasn't really needed—we were well damned before we started, as I have shown, and the populace was quite ready to do a little more, even without incitement.

Still by way of stating the problem, let me remark upon the utter lack of any Labour or Trade Union movement. It is, indeed, rare to discover a constituency of seven or eight hundred square miles without a single Trades Council or properly organised party. There were whole villages, even towns, without a Trades Union Branch, and determined not even to hear the advocates of same. One might go 25 miles by road in several directions without touching a vestige of Labour life (and it is the loveliest country in all England, worthy of holidays and worthy of work).

What, pray, is to be done? It is absolutely essential that propaganda should reach these places, and some examination should take place of our resources and machinery for touching the countryside. I favour vans and vanners, but where that is not possible, then it is worth consideration whether local agricultural district organisers could not be appointed by county committees. The work of these missionaries should be to travel through the countryside sowing the seed by literature and meetings, and setting up what they can. One man per county without all the anxieties and petty worries, and the registration and election work of the orthodox organiser would find the task

none too big, and the right type of man might work wonders.

I have long preached against the conservatism which tempts a division to organise on purely water-tight compartment lines, without regard for their neighbours. Particularly is this a futile course in county divisions where obviously there is a common interest in County Councils—as in towns there is often a common interest in other local authorities. County committees, if formed, might find ways and means for the employment of these propagandists, and thus we may solve the problem. Still, we must not forget the vans. It is on some such lines as I have indicated that we must travel if we are to wake up rural England—or avoid other Ludlows.

TO OUR READERS

We find it necessary to issue a word of request to our readers to bear in mind the special circumstances under which the issue of the "Labour Organiser" is made possible.

In the first place, there are the services of the editor, rendered often under circumstances of extreme difficulty, in addition to his ordinary functions as a servant of the Party. This service includes, besides the editorship of the paper, the control of its business matters, involving a constant look-out for advertisers. It is with regard to the latter that we find it necessary to make an appeal.

Without our advertisers the paper could not continue. We have never asked our readers for any other service than that, as far as practicable, they should support our advertisers. We want our readers to recognise that advertisers are picked with great care, and that in addition there is something due to those who back their belief in our worthiness by advertising in our pages. In the past our readers have considerably helped us in this matter, but we discover that latterly there has been some slackening, and we earnestly ask our readers to make up this lost leeway by immediately placing what orders are practicable with the advertisers in this issue.

It helps us, too, if mention is made of the "Labour Organiser" when writing advertisers.

THE SECRETARY'S PAGE

HELP AND HINTS IN SEASON.

The annual report of the Preston Trades and Labour Council is interesting for the large amount of affiliation fees paid. We note an income of no less than £300 7s. 2d. for the past year on this account, which in itself was a shrinkage of £45 on the previous year's total. Nevertheless, the amount is one not exceeded by many local parties, even in divided boroughs. We note the balance in hand at the end of the year was £394 5s. 4d., an increase of £126, which sum had been contributed to by a profit of £90 accruing from a draw on the English Cup Final! They know how to raise money in Proud Preston.

The report of the Middlesbrough Labour Party pioneers an innovation which we rarely see in any other party's accounts. Thus, in the annual report, a separate statement of accounts is given for the women's sections, two of which show separate incomes of £25 and £29 respectively. We like this recognition of the work and finance of the women's sections, and the procedure might well be copied by other parties. Two items in the annual report specially interest us, thus "Our Town Council Labour Group meets before every Town Council, and discusses the minutes," and "Many professional lawyers would be astounded at the number of clients which a Labour agent has to deal with." Our sympathies and congratulations.

We recently saw a balance sheet of a divisional party wherein not a single penny had been received during the year for individual members. Surely this is an awful misuse of opportunities and the machinery of the party. The failure to procure individual members is an injustice to the national movement, besides a neglect of new supporters near at home. No possible valid excuse can be put forward by any divisional party in the kingdom for such a lack of effort. Surely the officers of the party do not wish us to believe that the wives, husbands, sons and daughters of all the present Executive and General Committee are members of the Party through Trade Unions or Socialist channels? We simply don't believe it, and the party

referred to is missing a great chance. In several constituencies the individual membership has this year saved the financial situation, though even finance should be a secondary objective to that of enrolling and bringing within the further influence of the Party the large number of sympathisers who are outside the ordinary organisations.

The number of women speakers available within the movement is strictly limited, and requests are often made for same. We would refer enquirers to Miss Ada Broughton's advertisement on another page. We have had experience of Ald. Broughton's organising abilities, and few women possess such all-round capacity for both platform and door-step work and the other side-lines of successful organisation. We would advise any local party desirous of getting real spade work done to send for a week's services.

To those local parties who occasionally send asking for the name of a propagandist apart from the ordinary party list, we would advise Mr. O. G. Willey, of York, who has done excellent work in many constituencies. There is just one trouble, and that is that our experience is that the localities insist on a return visit. Mr. Willey, who was formerly Labour agent at York, resides at 39 St. John's Street, York.

How not to do things is a lesson that might well be learned by one or two secretaries with whom we have come in contact. Thus recently a situation was advertised and we wrote for particulars, marking the letter personal and urgent. The particulars were required for the information of applicants to the vacancies advertised, and our letter was distinctly marked to distinguish it from ordinary applications. Owing, however, to red-tapeism, of which even His Majesty's Service or lawyers' offices might be proud, this letter was put aside untouched until the applications were simultaneously dealt with, and the consequence was that a reply to this letter came after the vacancy had been filled, when the information asked for was out of date and of no service. Oh, for another Nelson, and another blind eye, or, at any rate, a secretary who could distinguish between a letter he

would be allowed to answer and one he mustn't even open. Unfortunately it's not the first time in our experience that a silly secretary has waited several weeks to answer a letter in order that he might bring up an entirely minor matter to the notice of his committee. This is the *reductio ad absurdum* of Democracy.

Among a number of annual reports of local Labour Parties which we have perused, we have been painfully surprised to note how many neglect to give any details of the work of constituency organisation as distinguished from general propaganda, and the publicity work of the Party. Quite a number of reports make no mention whatever of their Ward Committees or other localised organisations. Is one to assume that none are formed, or that they are not worth mentioning?

By contrast it is interesting, in the thirty-ninth report of the Sunderland Trades Council, to read of the visits of the candidate to the borough, and of sustained attempts in propaganda, including the distribution of literature, which efforts had for their object the strengthening of the local organisation and preparing the way for more detailed steps in the localities and of further detailed steps in registration and so forth. Thus:—

"We were enabled to have a place in each of the seventeen wards where the lists could be inspected, and by that means we were able to secure a large increase in the number of electors on the register. In spite of this, no fewer than a hundred people left their names at our committee rooms during the election in November who were unable to vote at that election. Instead of waiting for the registration period, these names were taken to the proper official, and it is pleasing to note that, with few exceptions, these people will be able to exercise their rights should occasion arise."

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF POLITICAL PARTIES

By THE EDITOR.

V.—THE LABOUR PARTY'S APPEAL.

We have now analysed the psychological forces from which the Tory Party, the Lloyd-George Liberal and the Free Liberal Parties make their appeals to the electorate. It remains to examine the special characteristics of the Labour Party appeal ere we may arrive at our final conclusions.

It is necessary, however, to point out at once that an examination of the psychological appeal of the British Labour Party is not a study of the psychology of what is known as the movement. The two subjects are distinct, though they may be related, and we must treat them exceptionally as two matters.

In neither of our studies of the other parties did we take this course, or even trouble to suggest any distinction between the appeal of the party and the psychology of the political force behind it. There was no need. The appeal of Toryism is its Toryism, and the instincts we examined are the chords which respond to the beating of the Tory drum. Toryism is infinitely more a psychological force and fact than a political organisation, though it is a mighty one at that. The appeal of Toryism is certainly not the voice of a prophet preaching to the multitude. Toryism is too spontaneous to be a flower watered and cared for, and its psychology is the same all through.

The same may be said of Liberalism. Liberalism we found was even more psychological, and savoured less of self-interest in its essence, than Toryism. So, again, in studying the appeal of Liberalism we were studying the psychology of the party itself.

But Labour differs. If I have been right in my conclusions, Labour has had a handicap in its psychological appeal to the British public. Most of the advantage belongs to its opponents. Labour is essentially a missionary force. It is "out" actually to remove and destroy some of the very national characteristics which spring to the support of its opponents. And as a preacher, an aspirant to ideals rather than an illustration of type, an upholder of new and better methods, the fire and fervour which often characterise the Socialist advocate will not

light similar fires among his audience. He may make his Mohammedans, but they will not out-Mohammed Mohammed! The material differs. The preachers are the exceptions. One cannot expect there will be a nation of I.L.P.-ers, or a National Movement of Scotch M.P.'s!

It is this essential difference between the preacher and his congregation, the pioneer and the nation, that must never be forgotten. But it is so often forgotten to our undoing. The psychology of our movement is a matter I shall deal with presently, but its psychological appeal is made up of the forces which it will arouse in the minds of the electorate, and no mission in the world yet succeeded in making the last convert as good as the first. A study of our movement would disclose traits of religious zealotism, self-abnegating altruism, and intellectual genius that will find little reflection in the great mass of the people. These minds are a separate study; they influence, but are not of, the people, and the Socialist movement contains such a proportion of them that it will be a fallacy to talk of its psychology as being synonymous with the appeal it makes and the response it gets.

To get aright Labour's first-hand appeal one must be sure that the conception we hold of Labour's message is the right one. We then see whether or no it strikes the electorate as that, for after all we are now trying to discover what the psychological appeal amounts to—not what we really wish it to be. If it isn't precisely what we wanted, it is because of the propaganda that is yet needed.

My own conception of Labour's destiny is that it is a Socialist internationalist force working through Parliamentary methods for definite revolutionary change, accepting legislation which facilitates the change or incidentally tends to make the lot of the worker better, while rejecting all legislation that hinders change or that would stand as a bulwark against Socialism even if temporarily mitigating the worker's burden. Now, that would be a commonly accepted definition of our general objective. But is that just

how it strikes the electorate? And is our reward the psychological response to such an appeal?

Labour more often strikes the average man as being in many respects an improvement upon Liberalism, or the average worker as a first distinct attempt at doing something for himself through his own machine. In our examination of Liberalism we showed how there were normal instincts that were "Liberal" instincts, and Labour has inherited very much of this. This asset, notwithstanding our disappointment, constitutes one of the few advantages in psychological tendency that we possess.

As an improvement on Liberalism, then Labour gets its first score. I wish to goodness I could say that the mass of Labour supporters accepted it distinctly as a definite and fundamental alternative to Liberalism, but I won't say so because I don't think so.

The next score comes from the definite manual outlook attributed to the Party. Labour, it has been preached, "is the next class to secure emancipation" (as if any class was emancipated yet!), and this teaching of 15 to 25 years ago, or even of to-day, has at least borne fruit, not of the kind sought by the sowers, but in the direction of a very natural attitude among the workers which expects Labour to especially look after labour, meaning manual labour. This is not precisely what we want, but the appeal is there, and we do deliver the goods, even if we aspire and intend to deliver them to all persons.

Labour's next natural asset is its own virility and youth. The older parties are played out. So says many a cynic, hitting on a truth by accident, and Labour, by its vigour and activity, convinces one of its energy and intentions. Many people are influenced by this who have never delved deeply into the party's programme. They believe in us because we believe in ourselves.

It is a dangerous topic, but to what extent has the growth of the Labour movement affected religious movements, or become itself a religious movement for a great many? Certain it is that coincident with declines in the congregations and membership of religious organisations we have seen a growth of religious feeling and tendency among many of our own supporters. I use the term "religious" in the widest

sense, and I think that, apart from the fervour and earnestness of the convinced protagonist, there is a religious appeal in the party's outlook and programme that has enhanced its appeal with very many.

Lastly, we must not forget the appeal to reason. Despite all the platform arguments and printed pother of political parties, great political victories have rarely been won by reason, though every victor will acclaim it so. Despite this low opinion of electioneers and electorates, it must not be forgotten that there is a very considerable section of the electorate who respond to reason. There were during the last century several very clear evidences of the triumphs of reason, or perhaps I had better say evidences of reasoning being at work in the clash of controversies that shook the nation. The battle over evolution should hardly yet be forgotten, nor Bradlaugh's adventures, or the anti-vaccination agitation. These were controversies in which reasoning played the greater part, and they proved that at least some people act on reason.

So, then, we appeal to reason, and generally get the best of it. Socialist theory is rarely worsted on its merits, and the quiet-thinking man in cottage or in hall is more numerous than some suppose. He counts, and Labour gets him.

But does Labour get the reasoning man by its psychological appeal? I am afraid we should have ended our list before we reached the one man with whom impulses play the lesser part. It will be better for us, therefore, to tarry here, and proceed to examine the attributes which I have said give our own party a psychology distinguishable from that which responds to its call in the electorate.

(To be continued.)

THIS ISSUE.

We regret that owing to the Editor's absence from home for three weeks at an inopportune time it has been necessary to amalgamate our April and May Issues. In 1921 and again in 1922 one month's issue was similarly treated for a similar cause, and we trust to avoid another missing number during the current year.

OUT OF THE RUT

IDEAS AND ACTIVITIES IN BRIEF.

The reprinting by the York Labour Party of a verbatim report of Philip Snowden's speech on the Socialist Resolution in the House of Commons was particularly well done and reproduced in a dainty and attractive cover at the price of 2d. We are not quite sure that this venture, despite its subject, does not smack somewhat of private enterprise and competition, but the manner of its doing and the importance of broadcasting the Snowdonian arguments must excuse all that. The cover suggests that this reprint is the first of a series, and there is plenty of room yet for local parties to display their vigour in the reproduction of effective speeches and the issue of pamphlets.

We have been twitted that in our reproduction last month of a Jewish poster, either the photo or the interpretation was upside down. We may honestly plead that the mistake wasn't ours, but it is tragic to think of what even Labour readers expect from a hard-working editor. One supposes that the giving of insurances, exhibitions, face powder, etc., by the Capitalist Press has led the public into bad habits, so that they expect every editor to be a genius of sorts and a linguist to boot. We must confess that we ourselves couldn't read the poster, and, quite candidly, didn't expect our readers to be able to do so either. We apologise to the two or three eagle-eyed torments whom we misjudged.

Those Trade Union officials who believe that any out-of-work member of their Trade Union is capable, without experience, training, or qualification, of taking charge of a Parliamentary Election, would do well to read the report of a recent law case wherein the Judge again dilated on the lack of qualification in the agent employed. With regard to the agent, he at first refused relief for an infringement of the law, observing that he appeared to know nothing of the law or what an agent ought to know. Relief was afterwards granted on conditions, but it cannot be too strongly emphasised that the law expects an election agent to possess knowledge of his duties.

An extraordinarily large number of the resolutions for the Annual Conference of the Labour Party this year deal with suggested amendments of the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act. In view of the discussion at the Annual Conference, the editor will next month contribute a special article on suggested amendments to the present Acts. This article will also take into consideration judges' decisions at the recent petitions in addition to the Judge and Parliament made law of past periods. Our readers are asked to assist us in giving the widest publicity to this article among the delegates to the Annual Conference. Extra copies should be ordered in time.

The palm for the nicest souvenir to be presented to workers in the General Election must fall to the Doncaster Labour Party, who have had printed an elegant gilt printed card on a blue background, "For help in achieving the great Labour Victory at the General Election, November 15th, 1922, when Doncaster returned the first Labour Member to Parliament." A real photograph of the candidate, Mr. Wilfred Paling, M.P., is attached to the card, which altogether is a tasteful souvenir of a great contest, which those who partook in it will keep and value.

In striking contrast to the application for relief by a Labour agent in the Scottish Courts a year or so ago, arising out of an appeal in the filing of the Election return, were the applications for relief heard in the English Courts arising out of little delinquencies by candidates and agents in last November General Election. Thus, while the judges in Scotland held that the Labour agent ought to have had knowledge of certain things, their brothers in England could readily find excuses in some of the cases heard for agents not knowing they were acting illegally. Thus, in the case heard against Mr. Ralph Hall Caine, it is really quite amusing to note the judge accepting the ignorance of the agent that banners were prohibited and holding "that everybody acted in good faith in the present case." We trust that judge will come again when Labour agents are concerned.

The balance sheet is to hand of the Newport Labour Hall, Ltd., a company formed for the purpose of placing the purchase of premises and the management of the Labour Hall on a business basis. Last November saw the culmination of the Society's efforts to establish a home for Labour in Newport, and although the premises were only opened on 25th November, the balance sheet shows a very prosperous condition. Share capital shows an income to the extent of £1,027, sundry loans and deposits on shares accounting for a further £60. The purchase of premises absorbed £2,700, or, with alterations, repairs, furniture and fittings, £3,365, the balance being met principally by mortgage. The profit for the year totalled £311 11s. 0d., notwithstanding a heavy payment for interest.

The Ludlow Election was not remarkable either for the originality or the excellence of its electioneering. [Editor.] There was little scope for the former, and not time to get a machine going for the latter. There was, however, one innovation. Seven or eight hundred square miles of country take a lot of covering, and for six days out of the eleven days the only car available was that of the editor of the "Labour Organiser." Absolutely the only way in which a huge part of the countryside was touched at all was through the flashing by of the decorated car en route to some meeting. The occasion was improved by the printing of several thousand small tickets (railway ticket size), bearing a message to the farm worker, and these were dropped from the car in the country lanes and bye-ways. A sort of paper chase trail thus ran through the countryside, and brief though the message was, it served as good as wireless in the districts where some little attempt had been made to organise the farm workers, and we afterwards discovered that the trail had been picked up, and the little cards made good use of.

The Lancashire and Cheshire agents have arranged a week-end at Heyes Farm Adult School Guest House, West Bradford, near Clitheroe, for Saturday and Sunday, May 12th and 13th. This is the first occasion, we believe, that the agents of the Labour

Party have got together for a week-end, and we heartily wish them a happy time. We note that in addition to the social part of the programme, Sunday is to be observed in quite a creditable manner. There is to be an adult school at 9.30 a.m. and a fellowship meeting at 6.15 p.m. We presume that those who don't get up in time for the first function will at least put in an appearance at the second, though the fresh air may do wonders. With organisers to organise it, this little expedition of the Lancashire and Cheshire agents ought to be a model of how to spend a profitable week-end.

THE IRISH FREE STATE AND ABSENT VOTERS

AN EXTENSION OF PROXY RIGHTS.

The following circular outlining some important changes has been sent by the Home Office to Registration Officers under date 20th April:—

"I am directed by the Secretary of State to draw attention to an amendment of the procedure in regard to voting by absent voters which has resulted from the establishment of the Irish Free State.

"Section 2 (1) of the Representation of the People (No. 2) Act, 1920, replacing Section 23 (4) of the Representation of the People Act, 1918, enables an absent voter to appoint a proxy if there is a probability that he will at the time of a Parliamentary Election be at sea or out of the United Kingdom; and provides that no ballot paper shall be sent for the purpose of voting by post to any recorded address which is outside the United Kingdom.

"In pursuance of the Irish Free State (Consequential Adaptations of Enactments) Order, 1923, made under the Irish Free State (Consequential Provisions) Act, 1922, the expression 'United Kingdom' in the above-mentioned Section will now, in relation to absent voters registered for constituencies in Great Britain and Northern Ireland, be construed as excluding the Irish Free State.

"The effect of the adaptation is that any absent voter, who is likely to be in the Irish Free State at the time of a Parliamentary Election, can claim to appoint a proxy, and that no ballot paper can be sent by the Returning Officer to any absent voter to an address in the Irish Free State."

THE BERWICK ELECTION PETITION

NO SYMPATHY HERE FOR
CAPTAIN PHILIPSON.

The full report of the above Petition given on another page makes remarkable reading. It is not without its lessons to other election agents—it may also be to candidates, too.

For a number of years Election Petitions have been decidedly out of fashion, and we believe as a consequence election offences have greatly increased to the injury particularly of the Labour Party. It was significant, too, that on this occasion the petition was not lodged by the official Liberal candidate, but by two individuals acting quite independently.

The outcome of the judges' decisions is that a gentleman who has sat in the House of Commons for nearly six months loses his seat, and the election agent loses his reputation, if ever he possessed one, and may shortly lose other things besides.

We are not going to echo the maudlin sympathy with the unseated member expressed by some newspapers and given expression to personally by some members of the House of Commons. The whole sordid story but illustrates the handicap a poor candidate suffers, for not only do we believe the election offences alleged are comparatively common, but the difficulty of proving the offences is almost past possibility in many cases, besides the heavy cost of securing remedy—for two of His Majesty's judges and a crowd of counsel, not to mention the £1,000 deposit, are not luxuries within every man's reach when he desires to secure justice.

Further, the prime offence at Berwick was not, in our judgment, the criminal folly of the election agent, but the creation and financing of a bogus Coalition Liberal Organisation, whose expenses were not debited to the election account, and whose name and authority was used to hoodwink the electors.

It should be recognised that the result of the legal proceedings has not been to punish Captain Philipson for his actions in the above respect, or for any alleged connivance with the election agent, but he has been unseated solely by and through the legal liability rest-

ing on a candidate for the acts of his agent. It is perhaps in this regard that sympathy has been extended to Capt. Philipson, but if this is so, then we would point out that members of the House of Commons themselves have the opportunity of securing an early amendment of the law, if an injustice was done, and while they are about it they may as well remedy another injustice of a like kind which presses with considerable injury on election agents.

A candidate, it will be seen, is liable for his agents. But so also is an election agent. For example, the law gives a sub-agent the same authority as the election agent within his appointed area, but it provides no punishment for the sub-agent who exceeds his limit, nor even does it provide for a statutory declaration, or a statutory form of return as it does in the case of the election agent himself. This, in fact, is one of the lessons of Berwick, for it appeared that the agent only discovered he had overspent the limit when the excessive accounts of certain sub-agents came in. We ourselves have suffered from the same misfortune. Even in by-elections, when qualified agents are sometimes employed as sub-agents, there is always the temptation for the latter, without responsibility, and possessing, apparently, a greater knowledge of the financial resources than the election agent, to land the latter with unauthorised and unjustifiable expenditure of which he may be ignorant till some time afterwards. In our opinion, the law requires amendment to at least place the sub-agent in the same position of personal responsibility as the election agent.

The examination of the offending election agent was a pitiable exhibition. We are afraid Mr. Boal's first offence, that of exceeding the limit, was one in which he might sometimes have had goodly company and some sympathy. We certainly feel for the agent who has been landed in this position by his sub-agents, or his candidate, or the overwhelming fierceness of a hard-fought and first-rate encounter. There is also a great deal of difference in the circumstances of by-elections and general elections, and even between by-election and by-election, and the present hard and fast rule for all types of elections is by no means ideal from the point of view of the election agent.

There is, of course, a remedy for inadvertence, viz., that of an application to the Courts for relief; though this course has its drawbacks when it can be shown that the "inadvertence" may have affected the result! Anyway, if, after all items have been examined and proved as election expenses, the total still remains obdurate over the limit, the course outlined is the correct one to take.

But Mr. Boal did more, and in persuading a tradesman to fraudulently cook his accounts, he destroyed whatever sympathy he was entitled to, and deliberately forsook such remedy as the law allowed. For this collusion and the false declaration that followed it, there can be no sympathy, and the case may serve a useful purpose if it checks the swollen expenditure of other Tory agents who have, of course, the same position to face at the close of an election as had the culprit in the above case.

NORTH-EAST DERBY PETITION RESULT

THE ISSUE OF UNMARKED BALLOT PAPERS.

The special hearing of the petition brought by Mr. Joseph Stanley Holmes, Liberal candidate in the N.E. Derbyshire Election, against the return of Mr. Frank Lee, the Labour candidate, came to a conclusion on the 20th April, when the judges found a majority of 15 for Mr. Frank Lee, the judges' figures being: Lee, 9,359; Holmes, 9,344.

The variation in the figures declared at different counts at this election provide an astonishing record. At the original count all sorts of diversions apparently took place, and the votes were counted several times, each count giving a different result. Finally, the official declaration given after two days of counting was as follows:—

F. Lee	...	9,357
J. S. Holmes	...	9,352
C. Waterhouse	...	8,879

The petitioner complained of certain proceedings at the election, and he prayed that it should be declared void. On January 12th, 1923, a recount of votes was ordered by Master Jelf. The result of this gave the following figures:

F. Lee	...	9,300
J. S. Holmes	...	9,297
C. Waterhouse	...	8,877

With regard to the votes recorded in favour of Mr. Lee, sixty-three were challenged, and of those in favour of Mr. Holmes, fifty-six.

Their lordships also dismissed the petition.

Mr. Justice Avory, giving judgment, said that no question arose as to the votes of Mr. Waterhouse. His lordship enumerated the different voting papers, which were held to be valid, and said that in addition to the 54 votes rejected by the Returning Officer for lack of the official mark, the Court rejected fifteen more. The loss of these votes, through no fault of the voters, was a serious matter, and called for enquiry whether it was due to defects in the instruments used, or to neglect on the part of those whose duty it was to use them.

The proceedings in the above election raise in an acute form the present unsatisfactory arrangements with regard to the official marking of ballot papers. It is difficult to exonerate the officers responsible for the non-marking of the ballot papers in the above election, and the virtual disenfranchisement of voters who have gone to the trouble to record their votes, because of this neglect on the part of the presiding officer, constitutes a flagrant injustice. Suspicion is widely held that the non-marking of certain ballot papers is not in all cases an innocent omission, but innocent or no, such action should not have the effect of depriving an honest voter of his vote, unless there is grave reason to suppose that forged ballot papers are being used.

The check on the ballot boxes ought to provide a sufficient guarantee against the latter unlikely event, but pending an alteration of the law on this subject (an alteration which we trust would lead to an entire recasting of the methods of voting), we are strongly of opinion that governmental action should be taken to ginger up the method of marking now employed, and to make impossible the issue of a paper without the official mark.

*What you save in Cash
you lose in Efficiency
unless all the officers of
your Party get the*

Labour Organiser

BAZAARS, HOLIDAYS AND SOCIALS

Modesty is ever a quality to be admired. Mr. Sam Eastwood, the secretary of the Colne Valley Divisional Labour Party, writes about the latter's three-day Easter Bazaar as follows:—

"The takings were £403, but the expenses will run nicely into the second hundred. Our first Bazaar Committee was held on Saturday, July 19th, 1922, and we had to break off for the Election in November. In addition, two of our strongest districts were unable to assist owing to similar efforts for their local building funds. All things considering, I think you will agree we did not do bad."

A profit of a clear £200 is certainly not to be sneezed at, with two competing affairs into the bargain. What about the people who say these things cannot be done? The Bazaar opened each day at 3 p.m., and was held in the Socialist Hall, Slaithwaite. Even the programme itself brought in money by containing advertisements, while the programme of enjoyment provided was such that must have left most of those who attended with very pleasant recollections—except perhaps the host of attendants and helpers, who must have felt tired, though there was comfort in the knowledge of such well-doing and such success.

It was unfortunate for the People's Fair, organised by the Newport Labour Party, under the expert guidance of Mr. W. B. Lewcock, that the second day's events were somewhat marred by rain, the downpour preventing a good number of buyers from attending. Yet in answer to those pessimists who are always foreseeing disaster and making that an excuse for doing nothing, the two days' affair produced a profit of no less than £110. By way of advertising the Fair, the programme was sold from door to door, and this expedient proved very successful. As a matter of fact, the whole of the proceeds from the sale of the programme were nett profit, the advertisements paying for the printing, etc.

The York Labour Party has had more than one mention recently in the "Labour Organiser." Saturday, May 5th, would justify another, for the May Fair and Demonstration, organised on

ambitious lines, was held on that day. May Day at the "Homestead," Clifton, York, was to be a real May Day, a merry May Day, and a May Day to be remembered. The programme began at 2.45 p.m. and was carried through with concert parties and children's and adults' fancy dress parades, speeches and dancing, finishing up with a note of modernity by a wireless demonstration concert.

The May Day Demonstration proper was to take place on Sunday, May 6th, and also to be enlivened by selected items by the Continental Young Workers' Concert Party. Apparently York Minster has something to do with minstrelsy and has cast its spell on the York Labour Party, and they are to sing themselves to victory. Not a bad proposal.

The victory social of the West Bromwich Labour Party was, as was to be expected, another occasion for the tasteful display of the typographical art in the announcements and programme thereof. Beginning at 6.15 p.m., music and enjoyment was to carry through for four hours and finish as per programme at 10.30 p.m. with a grand finale of "Auld Lang Syne." We are prepared to swear, though, that in West Bromwich the strains of "The Red Flag" would be strongly mingled with the Scottish air. We know W.B.

The tag on the end of the programme was as follows:—

"Commence each day by reading the DAILY HERALD, 1d. daily;
Finish each week by reading the NEW LEADER, 2d. weekly.
Complete each month by reading the LABOUR MAGAZINE, 6d. monthly;
And providing your wife with the LABOUR WOMAN, 2d. monthly."
May we ask what the "Labour Organiser" has done that we shouldn't be mentioned?

In another column will be found an advertisement of the Workers' Travel Association. Many of our readers are able to take a holiday each year, and we are sure that the W.T.A. is an organisation which it will pay to consult in many instances before taking a holiday. Several members of the Agents' Association, and a number of other of our readers, have reported

Workers' Travel Association

President :
Harry Gosling, M.P., L.C.C.
(Transport Workers).

Chairman :
J. W. Bowen
(Post Office Workers).

Hon. Treasurer :
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*John Baker

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Miss Margaret G. Bondfield

John Bromley

C. Roden Buxton, M.P.

*Duncan Carmichael

Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes,

P.C., M.P.

*E. St. John Catchpool
Chas. Duncan, M.P.

*Ald. R. M. Gentry

W. Gillies

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*A. Creech Jones

*George Peverett

Dr. Marion Phillips

Arthur Pugh

*Miss F. M. Saward

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J. J. Taylor

Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas,

P.C., M.P.

John Turner

A. G. Walkden

R. B. Walker

*Basil A. Yeaxlee

*Members of Executive Committee.

Continental Holiday Centres, 1923

		7 Days			14 Days		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
France -	PARIS	5	10	0	8	5	0
	ST. MALO	6	6	0	9	0	0
Belgium -	BRUGES	5	5	0	—	—	—
Switzerland -	GENEVA	9	9	0	12	0	0
Germany -	BERLIN	7	0	0	9	10	0
Austria -	VIENNA	8	9	0	11	10	0
Italy -	ARONA	11	11	0	14	14	0

Parties of 25 leave London every Saturday, June to September. Terms include Travel by Rail and Boat from London to Centre and return, 7 or 14 days' accommodation and food, certain excursions and visas. Only extras are: Passport (7s. 6d.) and Personal Expenditure. Contact arranged with local organised workers, with occasional Social Evenings, Lectures and Conferences.

Other Activities of the W.T.A.

Information Bureau on Home and Foreign Travel. Reciprocal visits arranged for foreign workers. Study Circle Classes and Lectures in winter months. Local Travel Clubs and Groups organised. Enquiries welcomed for Individual or Group Travel.

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BRANCH O, TOYNBEE HALL,

28 Commercial Street, London, E.1

General Secretary: ERNEST W. WIMBLE.

most favourably upon the trips organised by the W.T.A., and so excellent and cheap are the arrangements that there ought to be quite a boom in the trips now being arranged. Parties of twenty-five leave London every Saturday, and one may take a week in France for as low a sum as £5 10s. or have a fortnight in sunny Italy for £14 14s. A fortnight in Switzerland is offered for £12 or a modest trip to Belgium and a week's stay for £5 5s. These terms include travel by rail and boat to a centre, accommodation and food, together with certain excursions and visits; the only extras are: Passports 7/6, and personal expenditure. As a means for combining education with complete change, these trips are unique. Contact is arranged with local organised workers, and if one so desires one may attend social entertainments, lectures and conferences in the localities. The summer programme of the W.T.A. includes a number of tours and trips on similar lines to those mentioned, while there are several additional facilities, particulars of which may be obtained by writing the secretary. In addition to all the foregoing, arrangements can be made for special trips and routes for any number of individuals, and the W.T.A. specially cater for the holiday requirements abroad of parties made up from local organisations, T.U. Branches, Co-op. Societies, Adult Schools, etc. We hope that our readers are going to take up this thing and prove that the Workers' Travel Association is fulfilling a real want, for these arrangements are specially helpful to the class represented by "Labour Organiser" readers. Please mention the "Labour Organiser."

LABOUR PARTY FINANCE

By W. T. HARRIS

Secretary Ipswich Trades Council and Labour Party.

The growth of the Labour movement has been too rapid to allow sufficient time for forming the kind of organisation most suitable to express the object in view. The various organisations that have played a part in the building have worked without that cohesion necessary to give stability and symmetry to all the parts. In the early stages of the movement each part acted

without correlation, being concerned more with its own personal and local problems than with its function as an integral part of an organised whole.

Now that the movement has become national in its scope, it must be organised on that basis. Labour is expecting that it will shortly have the opportunity of governing the country. Before it undertakes that responsibility, it must set its own house in order.

While it is necessary that there shall be the will to organise, there must also be the means. The organisation of Labour forces is dependent everywhere on the local parties. These, however, are mostly in a starved condition, due to inadequate political funds raised by the Unions, and bad distribution of the funds that are available.

Few Unions contribute more than 1s. per member per annum to the political fund, of which 3d. is expected to be paid to the National Executive of the Labour Party. The balance is either retained in the coffers of the Union for the promotion of their own particular candidatures, or a small part is sent to local parties in constituencies where they have members.

The result of this system, or lack of system, is that some local parties become parasitic. They choose an official candidate of some Union and obtain from that Union the payment of all election, and a large amount of the organising, expenses. They are under no financial obligations to sharpen their wits, and create that corporate spirit which comes from sacrifice to a cause. Other parties, of a more virile and independent type, which desire to choose a known and trusted standard-bearer, find the financial strain almost unbearable. In the end the political funds paid by the local Trade Unionists, in the allocation of which they have only a small voice, are taken to finance some ineffective party unwilling to help itself. How can we expect to foster virile and self-reliant organisations under such conditions?

If, both nationally and locally, Labour is to govern, the Trade Union movement must realise that anything that is worth having is worth paying for; also that when a Trade Unionist is elected as a Labour representative either to Parliament or a Town Council, he is there to represent all workers, not those of a particular Union.

Is political representation worth one penny a week? Ask the big businesses how much they pay. Reckon up how many pennies a week's strike or lock-out costs you. How many years would it take at a penny a week to equal the loss of pay through one week's strike? A Labour Government could not at once do away with all need for strikes, but it would at least prevent 75 per cent. of them.

Think what the difference between yearly payment of 1s. and 4s. for political representation by Trade Unions would mean. Instead of 3d., the Labour Party Executive would have 1s. What a difference that would make in national propaganda and organisation! Instead of the present unsatisfactory fees, local parties could have 2s. Understand what that would mean to the local work, and what would be the result on the Town Councils, etc. There would then be still another shilling for the Unions to use for their own particular purposes.

Now, how do local parties fare at present? They get certain affiliation fees, make a rule for so much, and take what they can get! Some branches pay from a local fund. Others cannot, because they are not allowed to have one. They, or the party, have to make application for what fees they can obtain from the Head Office of the Union, and, on the strength of the branch, may get the princely sum of 2d. per member, with a "God bless you"! If you are rash enough to point out that such a sum will not buy the office stationery, let alone get a crust for the secretary and agent, you are regarded as an outrageous person. Money may be obtained from individual members. Much, however, depends upon the constituency and largely upon other societies that may be in existence therein. So, then, other avenues of finance have to be explored, such as entertainments, prize draws, etc., to which the secretary has to devote a great deal of time; then the question arises, "Why isn't he doing more organising work?"

Finance is a necessity in all movements. Unless this is stable there is a danger of collapse. The success of political organisation depends on the activities of the local parties. To create and maintain those activities it is necessary that their financial basis shall be sound. The block voting in
(Continued on page 22.)

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Knowledge is Power

REPORT OF THE BERWICK ELECTION PETITION

A FALSIFIED ELECTION RETURN.

The first election petition of importance for many years was heard at Berwick on the 25th April and following days. On May 2nd their lordships delivered judgment which resulted in the unseating of the sitting Member and the severe censure of the election agent, who is to be reported to the House of Commons for corrupt practice and other offences.

The petition differed from the majority of past petitions in that no general charges of corrupt practices were made, such as bribery, treating, etc. No "corrupt" practice was charged against the candidate and one charge only of "corrupt" practice was alleged against the agent, viz., that of false declaration. The petition relied, therefore, mainly upon certain serious illegal practices preferred, and in the end narrowed down to specific charges of illegal payment, payment in excess of statutory limit, falsification of election return and false declaration.

The judges hearing this petition were Mr. Justice Avory (presiding) and Mr. Justice Sankey. In this case the petitioner was not the defeated candidate, the Rt. Hon. W. Runciman, but two prominent individuals in the constituency.

The result of the poll on the 15th November last was as follows:—

Capt. Hilton Philipson ... 11,933
(Nat. Lib.)

Rt. Hon. W. Runciman... 7,354
(Ind. Lib.)

Nat. Lib. majority, 4,579.

The petition stated:—

1. Your Petitioners are persons who voted and who had a right to vote at the said Election.

2. And your Petitioners state that the said Election was holden on the 15th day of November, 1922, when Hilton Philipson and The Right Honourable Walter Runciman were the Candidates, and the Returning Officer has returned the said Hilton Philipson as being duly elected.

3. And your Petitioners further say that the said Hilton Philipson was, by his Election Agent and Sub-Agents, guilty of Illegal Practices at the said Election by paying sums and incurring

expenses before, during and after the said Election on account of and in respect of the conduct and management of the said Election in excess of the maximum amount in that behalf specified in the First Schedule to the said Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883, as amended by the Representation of the People Act, 1918, contrary to the provisions of Section 8 of the said Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883.

4. And your Petitioners further say that the said Hilton Philipson was, by his Election Agent and Sub-Agents, guilty of Illegal Practices at the said Election by knowingly providing moneys for payments which were contrary to the provisions of the said Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883, as amended by the said Representation of the People Act, 1918, and for expenses incurred on account of and in respect of the conduct and management of the said Election in excess of the maximum amount allowed by the said Acts, and for replacing money expended in such payments and expenses contrary to the provisions of Section 13 of the said Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883.

5. And your Petitioners further say that the said Hilton Philipson was by himself and by his Agents guilty of illegal practices at the said Election by making payments, advances and deposits before, during and after the said Election in respect of expenses incurred on account of and in respect of the conduct and management of the said Election otherwise than by or through his Election Agent, contrary to the provisions of Section 28 of the said Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883, and they further say that certain monies provided by Agents of the said Hilton Philipson for expenses incurred on account of and in respect of the conduct and management of the said Election were not paid to the said Hilton Philipson or his Election Agent in accordance with the provisions of the said Section 28 of the said Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883.

6. And your Petitioners further say that the said Hilton Philipson was, by

is Election Agent and Sub-Agents, guilty of illegal practices at the said Election by satisfying claims in respect of expenses incurred on account of and in respect of the conduct and management of the said Election which were barred by Section 29 of the said Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883, and by paying expenses incurred on account of and in respect of the conduct and management of the said Election after the time limited by such Act.

7. And your Petitioners further say that the said Hilton Philipson was, by his Election Agent, guilty of illegal practices at the said Election in that his Election Agent did not transmit to the Returning Officer a true return respecting the election expenses of the said Hilton Philipson at the said Election in accordance with Section 33 of the said Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883, as amended by the Representation of the People Act, 1918, and in that his Election Agent did not transmit to the said Returning Officer a return in the form set forth in the Second Schedule to Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883, as amended by the Representation of the People Act, 1918, or to the like effect.

8. And your Petitioners further say that the said Election Agent of the said Hilton Philipson was guilty of a corrupt practice at and after the said Election in that he knowingly made the declaration required by Sub-Section 2 of Section 33 of the said Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883, falsely.

9. By reason of the matters hereinbefore set out, the said Hilton Philipson is and is incapacitated from serving in the present Parliament for the said Division of the County of Northumberland, and the said Election and return of the said Hilton Philipson were and are wholly null and void.

Wherefore your Petitioners pray that it may be determined that the said Hilton Philipson was not duly elected or returned, and that his Election was wholly null and void.

Dated this 5th days of January, 1923.

(Signed) Bertram F. Widdrington.

(Signed) Robert Carr Bosanquet.

Messrs. Russel, Cooke and Co., Solicitors, London, acting for Petition-

ers, lodged the £1,000 guarantee for the prosecution of the petition.

Counsel for the Petitioners were Mr. J. B. Matthews, K.C., and Sir Hugh Fraser, while counsel for Respondent were Mr. Cecil Whiteley, K.C., and Mr. C. Willoughby Williams. Mr. J. R. MacDonald represented the Public Prosecutor.

The Petition opened with considerable legal argument on the construction of some of the acts alleged as offences within the limits of the wording of the Corrupt Practices Acts.

Mr. Justice Avory, referring to an objection on the grounds of the omission of the word "knowingly," said a petition of that sort ought not to be pressed with the same technicality as an indictment. There was ample authority for saying the object of the petition was to give notice to the respondent of the charges, and, if substantially correct notice was given, then no legal objection should be allowed to defeat it. Ultimately, however, certain charges in the particulars were disallowed, and the hearing proceeded as stated on the narrower issues.

From the opening statement of counsel it appeared that respondent appointed as his election agent a Mr. Thomas Wilson Boal, who carried on business as a draper in Berwick, who was stated also to be secretary of the "Berwick Coalition Liberal Association." This was Mr. Boal's first adventure as election agent. The exact amount of the statutory allowance was £849 16s., and the respondent's sworn statement of expenses gave a margin unexpended of £12 10s. 1d.

The allegations included payments for the hire of cars for improper purposes, payments to individuals which were not returned, and payments in respect of election accounts after date, together with the charges of false declaration as above stated.

Remarkable allegations were made in respect to the dealings of Mr. Boal with a printer named Martin. It was alleged, and counsel's statements were borne out by the admissions of the agent himself, that on discovering his expenditure had exceeded the limit, Mr. Boal visited the printer named, and a remarkable attempt to cook the accounts for the purpose of the return then took place. Thus, an account charged originally for £139 0s. 8d. was written down to £60 13s. 9d. Another

item representing goods supplied to the amount of £20 7s. was written down to £5 5s. 6d., and there were other items. The total of the accounts so treated amounted to £164 15s. 7d., the nett sum appearing in the returns being £68 3s. 7d.—an undeclared and unreturned amount of £96 11s. 6d. on this one account alone.

Photographs of the account were put in. It was shown that there had been no alteration in the case of addresses to electors, poll cards, etc., where easily ascertained quantities might be expected to be returned, but in regard to other items both the quantities supplied and the price charged had been proportionately written down.

The election agent, in the witness box, made a clean breast of the above matters, his principal pleading that he did not appreciate all that might be involved in what he had done. A singular feature of the evidence given showed that at the same bank Mr. Boal had three accounts, one for personal purposes, number two for the purpose of the "Coalition Liberal Association," and a third account for election expenses. It was admitted that Mr. Philipson was the only person who ever contributed to the fund of the number two account, and the election agent was cross-examined to show that the "Berwick Coalition Liberal Association" virtually consisted of himself and the candidate only. The total sums passed through number two account from the date of its opening in April, 1921, to a date after the election amounted to £560. A number of items paid during the period of the election, and afterwards, such as the salaries of Mr. Boal and a lady helper, items for transit and hotels, postages, parcels, stationery and distribution of literature, were severely criticised. "Give us your explanation of how these items could possibly be entered in a book purporting to be an account of the Association which was dissolved on the 31st October," was a pertinent enquiry put by Mr. Justice Avory.

Both the election agent and Mr. Philipson were severely cross-examined as to the extent of the latter's complicity or knowledge of the circumstances under which certain monies were provided to supplement the election expenses. It was shown that the agent had written to the candidate stating that the expenditure had

exceeded the statutory limit, and had applied for the sum of £100 to make good the amount. Both the election agent and Mr. Philipson denied that knowledge of the cooking of Martin's account had reached the latter.

Mr. Philipson admitted that a sum had been paid to a Mr. Dixon, who, having ceased to be the Unionist agent, assisted with his candidature. He did not, however, recognise that anything he paid to Mr. Dixon, or anything paid to the Unionist Association in the Division, could be regarded as an election expense. An entry of £25 to Mr. Dixon was shown in Mr. Philipson's private pass-book under date January 1st. The candidate was also severely cross-examined as to his own declaration of expenses, and the entry therein as to the amount actually paid to the election agent.

Mr. Justice Avory, in giving judgment, held that the "Berwick Coalition Liberal Association" was but another name for Boal and Philipson. His lordship enumerated the items which he found to have been established as charges in the Election Petition, and he held that the returns were incorrect, and the declaration was false. These various illegal practices and the one corrupt practice having been proved, the result would be that the election must be declared null and void. Mr. Boal had further committed an offence under the Perjury Act in relation to the false declaration.

Application was later made to their lordships for relief in respect of Mr. Philipson. This application, however, was refused, their lordships expressing their regret at their inability to grant such application. No application for relief was made on the part of the election agent, of whose case more may be heard.

AN IMPUDENT CANDIDATURE AT BERWICK.

As we go to press the announcement is made that Miss Mabel Russell, wife of Capt. Philipson, the unseated member for Berwick, has been unanimously adopted as Conservative candidate in the forthcoming by-election.

In ordinary circumstances our only feeling would be amusement at the above announcement, as illustrating the delightful prospects before "Liberal

unity"; for the unseated member was a Coalition Liberal, who received the aid of the Conservative Association, and his wife is to drop all pretence and come out in her true colours.

We think, however, that Mrs. Philipson's announcement that she "is standing simply to try and hold the seat until my husband comes back" is a disclosure of the cynical contempt in which the monied class hold the Corrupt Practices Act, and of their determined attempt to make their money tell within the utmost limits of the law.

Capt. Philipson himself has only just escaped (more, we think, by the generosity of the petitioners than anything else) from severe condemnation himself. He has been properly and justly found guilty, through his agent, of illegal practices, and unseated as a Member of Parliament, and deprived from ever again sitting in the present House. As our report in another column shows, a cloud of suspicion yet remains undisputed, and the judges themselves have held that the precious political association which fathered Capt. Philipson's own candidature consisted in effect of none other than Philipson himself and his perjured agent! Yet this same organisation was shown to have spent by the judges' reckoning some £560 during the months preceding the election, altogether apart from the excessive election expenses. What a pretty kettle of fish!

And now the unseated member's wife talks of holding the seat until her husband can come back. May we respectfully ask how much the job is going to cost?

Verily the audacities of the bloated rich have no limit.

OTHER LUDLOWS

HOW SHALL WE SOLVE THEM?

By EGBERT T. LEWIS.

Ludlow has left us with a problem. It is worth spending some time and space discussing it, not because Ludlow is so important, but because it is typical, and, as John Beckett, in the "New Leader," said, "There can be no Socialist England until the tyranny of the countryside is broken down."

Let us, then, discuss the methods which must be employed to win Ludlow, and, therefore, many of the other country constituencies of Mid and South England.

At the Ludlow by-election the constituency, or at least the towns in the constituency, were flooded by propagandists, and some of our best at that. Yet I doubt if there is much result of their eloquence left to-day. The 1,420 votes given were not entirely new converts, so that as regards the formation of public opinion the results of our time and expenditure will be small.

To solve the problem we must study the psychology of the agricultural worker and the other inhabitants of the country town and village. This will vary a good deal according to district, yet there are certain general broad lines which can be recognised. We must therefore study our countryman, and to win him use those who know him.

Generally he is not as susceptible to mere oratory as his town brother. He does not want to hear the "smart" man, or at most, where he likes to hear him, he does not often trust him. Nor does the man with University degrees and a superior education appeal to him.

The organiser is needed more than the propagandist, as generally understood. If money is spent it should be on the organiser first, rather than on the speaker. Not any man who calls himself "organiser" will, however, be successful. The countryman will welcome one who can be "one of themselves." Not men who will talk "brotherhood" are needed, but men who will act it. "Homeliness" and friendliness are better qualifications than correct English, a big vocabulary, and smart dress. A knowledge of our principles and the power to converse intelligently and plainly are, of course, essential. Sincerity is also absolutely necessary, for your countryman is often a cute judge of character.

It is not the man who can do big things that will be required so much as the man who can do small things thoroughly and keep on doing them well even if he does not see immediate results. He must be one whom it is impossible to discourage, and willing to fight what appears to be a losing battle. (Ludlow figures would have been better had not some of the

organisers had all the courage knocked out of them because they had not the full election equipment of marked registers, etc.) Our man must be content with a faith like some of the religious pioneers, satisfied that they were doing the right thing, leaving time to tell in their or in another's day.

Are such men to be found? Yes. The Agricultural Labourers' Union has found some of them; some of their organisers have already done yeoman service for Socialism in the countryside.

When you have selected your man, he will first want to get in touch with those who are sympathetic and get their confidence. Then he will meet those who are free, free to have their own opinions in private and express them, if not advertise them. Free in that they will not be in their employers' tied houses, in some cases free because they cannot be sacked for their political opinions: railwaymen, Council employees, sometimes the country cobbler, and other small traders. From these you may get your nucleus of an I.L.P. or Labour Party branch. They will at first probably have to be informal meetings in one another's kitchens. These men meet the other workers, and help to form their opinions, and will help to win confidence for our organiser. The cobbler's shop often gets more real politics done in it than does the Urban District Council hall.

These are not ways and means that are going to make a great upheaval at once in the countryside, but neither did we win the towns for Labour in a year or two, and these suggestions are put forward with a personal knowledge of the Midlands countryman in and near the Ludlow constituency, and in the belief that along these lines lasting advance can be made.

*Do all your Local Party
officers get the
Labour Organiser?
If not, why?*

ON THE PREPARATION OF ENVELOPES FOR ELECTION PURPOSES

BY FRANK H. EDWARDS.

II. (continued.)

There are several main considerations when obtaining supplies of envelopes. What are they?

- (1) The quality of the envelopes.
- (2) The size.
- (3) The quantity.
- (4) Whether the envelopes should be printed or plain.
- (5) The price.

I shall deal with these considerations *seriatim*.

(1) **QUALITY.** It is well to have in mind that envelopes are usually destroyed shortly after they have served their purpose. A cream-laid, highly-glazed or superfine cover is not necessary—it is a luxury. If it be intended to send out matter of some bulk, the envelope should be strong enough to take and protect it. A ragged envelope should be avoided. A pen will stick and the ink splutter on it, and this provokes the misuse of language. A serviceable cover, with a surface just sufficiently glossy for the pen to run over it and the ink to dry quickly, is what is needed. The flap requires attention. The gum should not be too evident. It is no facility, but a source of chagrin to find that at the time of the election the envelopes, addressed well in advance, are stuck, and that it is impossible to use them without spending more time in releasing the flaps than it would take to write another set of envelopes. That possibility has to be guarded against.

(2) **SIZE.** The agent should have in mind the precise purpose when ordering envelopes, and he must strive to make the task of election workers as light as possible in regard to addressing, and especially so since this work is regarded as monotonous. He must consider how best to utilise their time during the election to the advantage of the candidature. Election literature—perhaps the election address or that together with one or more leaflets—is to be enclosed in the envelope. The cover should be adequate in size. Indeed, there should be an exact relationship between the size of the

election address, say, and the size of the envelope. Unnecessary folding should be avoided. Let us make a rough calculation. Suppose that the election address measures $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $17\frac{1}{2}$ in. It may be supplied by the printers folded down the middle, so that the size is $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. In order to fit an envelope of reasonable dimensions it now needs folding twice, so that it will measure $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. or $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $4\frac{3}{8}$ in., according to the method of folding. The latter is the more convenient size, and an envelope about $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. would serve the purpose, allowing a margin for easy insertion. If workers are required to fold the edges of the literature and then to squeeze or coax the matter into the envelope, extra work, totalling many hours in the aggregate, has to be performed, because a little foresight was not exercised.

It is not as well-known as it ought to be that in connection with the free postage the Post Office has precise regulations governing the size of the envelopes. In several places envelopes have been ordered and written, and these regulations have not been considered. The violation of the regulations means that the postage has to be paid for or that delivery must be effected by our own distributors. Clause 3 of the Regulations of the Postmaster-General under Section 33 of the Representation of the People Act, 1918, reads:—

"Communications must not exceed 2oz. in weight, nor 9 in. in length by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. in width. On the address side the words 'Election Communication' must be printed, stamped or legibly written."

It is not necessary to have all the envelopes of one size. In case two sets are obtained, the smaller envelopes (of a size in conformity with the Post Office Regulations) could be utilised for sending out the poll cards.

(3) QUANTITY. The agent should have in mind whether one serving, two sets or ever three are desired. For reasons already given, two are desirable, whilst it may be prudent to have three sets on hand. As indicated, the envelopes need not be all of the same size.

Then there must be some method adopted with regard to addressing, and this, of course, has an intimate bearing on the quantity of envelopes which will

be necessary. Tastes vary, opinions differ. It is held by some that the most appropriate form of addressing is for one envelope to be written for each elector. That means that the number of copies of the election address and other items of literature must be correspondingly large (and the costs commensurably heavy). It also makes a greater demand on the service of election workers by the addressing and handling of many thousands more covers than are really required. It is unwise to disregard the attitude of electors; certainly their likely expressions might be anticipated and respected. I am inclined to think that in many cases the separate treatment of each individual elector in this way would not be appreciated; on the contrary, it may be regarded as a great waste, for it would mean three or four, perhaps more, copies of the election address being received in separate envelopes by members of the one family living in the same house.

On grounds of economy of effort and expense, I prefer to adopt the course of having the names of all persons of the same surname resident at a particular address, entered on the one envelope, and supplying one copy of each piece of literature for the family. Where people of a different surname reside at the same house they should receive separate treatment. This, I contend, is the most suitable method.

(4) PRINTED OR PLAIN. Some firms supply a serviceable printed envelope at a reasonable price. Attention ought to be devoted to this matter of printing envelopes. I know of one case where envelopes were printed "With the Compliments of Mr.—, the Labour Candidate," the candidate's name being shown. That gentleman resigned his candidature, and gummed slips had to be obtained and printed and affixed to the envelopes, so that the name of the new candidate could be substituted. There are two objections against the candidate's name being printed on the envelopes—first, the possibility of the candidate's withdrawal, and, second, the inexpediency of displaying the candidate's name as, as a consequence, some prejudiced electors would not examine the contents of the packets. No objection can be entered against the printing of the words "With Compliments," but the phrase, "Something of Interest TO YOU," is, I think, far

preferable. The printing of the courtesy designation, with dotted lines for the names, is a help to the addresser, and gives the envelope a neat and business-like appearance.

(5) **PRICE.** Regard should be had to the points under the head of "Quality," and the quantity to be ordered will have much bearing. It is best to obtain samples with the quotations. Prices vary very considerably. The wisest course is to negotiate with manufacturers direct or with large wholesalers rather than with retailers. It should be ascertained whether the quotation includes carriage. Prices are likely to be less in the summer months.

The next and final contribution will offer guidance in the work of addressing envelopes.

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(Continued from page 15.)

conferences may defeat resolutions designed with that object, but, like hostile Governments, they can be made to pause when sufficient pressure is brought to bear.

The representatives of local parties must get together. Reasonable and just proposals must be formulated and their adoption insisted upon; even at the risk of a suspension of local operations.

[Readers are invited to send us contributions on the above subject, which must, however, be short, crisp and definitely constructive.—Ed. "Labour Organiser."]

REVIEWS

Something on Educating Socialists

"The I.L.P. appeal," says Ramsay MacDonald, in his pamphlet on I.L.P. History, "is not a class appeal, but an appeal to men's intelligence and permanent interests; . . . it works out from the experience of history, and the tendencies and problems of the day, a practical programme and guiding principles which, however much they may be modified to meet hard circumstances, can never be set aside." This summary of the I.L.P. position is admirably illustrated by the three recent publications of the I.L.P. Information Committee. MacDonald himself rapidly surveys the I.L.P.'s growth during the first thirty eventful years of its history; he relates the heroic struggles of the early days when our pioneers fought on against all odds and so brought about the triumphs of to-day. He writes of the birth of the I.L.P.'s offspring, the Labour Party, now truly a giant in stature. He brings before us the history of the party's mistakes and of its internal controversies that we may be warned what to avoid in the future. Throughout this story of the rise of a great political party runs unobtrusively, but no less surely, an appeal to the Socialists of to-day "to go and do likewise."

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stand his Socialism better at the end, but would have thoroughly enjoyed himself, for Economic History, treated as Major Attlee treats it, is as fascinating a subject as one can find.

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The divisions of Europe before the war; the Anglo-Japanese and Anglo-Persian treaties; the secret clauses of the Morocco agreement; and our secret commitments to France and Russia are some of the subjects with which he deals; while in the last study of Part I he summarises the imperative constitutional reforms necessary to safeguard the nation from being plunged, without warning, into another war through the secret diplomacy of our rulers. In the second part of the course, Mr. Lees-Smith reviews very lucidly the financial provisions of the peace, the consequent reparations crisis, which has now lasted for years, and the League of Nations.

The purpose of the whole course is summed up in the introduction, "The minds and hands which control the foreign policy of the State control the destiny of the individual system. That is the lesson which every citizen must learn." We do not know any other publication better suited to teach this lesson.

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